4:Grajdanzev--27-28 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 167, 177.16 Japan
636.16

"Below we give a short survey of the efforts of the Japanese government to colonize the island with Japanese settlers. These were to be of two kinds: (a) farmers, (b) fishermen. Before 1907 no plans for colonization could be worked out because the country was not yet pacified and Japanese immigrants could not appear in the countryside unless supported by armed forces. In 1907 the government elaborated and put into force a plan for the emigration of farmers to Taiwan. Grants of land—about 38,000 hectares—were made to thirty-eight settlements, but only eight settlements were actually made, and even these ended in failure. Taiwan attracted many Japanese adventurers (see figures of immigration for 1898-1904 above) who sought a paradise in the new possession. Finding no outlet for their talents, they became restless, and the government-general decided to repatriate them to Japan, and the would-be farmers departed with them.

The second attempt, started in 1910, was relatively more successful. The government gave to immigrants in eastern Taiwan land, houses, roads, schools, hospitals, irrigation works, etc. on condition that they would repay all advances in ten years, but demanded that each immigrant should have been an independent farmer in Japan and have at least ¥250. The limitations were imposed because the official explanation of the first failure was that the immigrants had no money of their own and were poor tenants in Japan. Under this scheme only 3,368 persons were settled in three different villages. These villages still exist, but after twenty-five years have only 3,117 inhabitants. Conditions of

life on the land cannot have been too attractive.

Since 1915 the Taito Sugar Company, with the support of the government, has tried to attract Japanese colonists for the production of sugar cane. The Taito Colonization Company was established and became active, but all its efforts were unsuccessful, and up to 1936 only seventy-eight families among those who came under these schemes remained on the land. Yanaihara explains this failure by the low price for sugar cane offered by the company and by the difficulties of specialized [28] farming, but a more fundamental cause was that in a colonial society a mass immigration can succeed only if the immigrants lower their standard of living to that of the natives.

In 1931 the indefatigable government-general worked out a new plan of immigration, and up to 1936 brought to Taichu province 156 families, giving each 12.25 acres of land, a monetary subsidy and loans free of interest. Some of the immigrants were settled near Takao."

4:Grajdanzev--28 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 167, 311, 609, 177.16 Japan
636.16

"It should be noted that, even after the pacification of the island, Japanese immigrants were treated in a hostile manner by the Chinese population. Under this pressure many farmers were compelled to leave their villages, some of them renting their land to Chinese and becoming absentee landowners. The total number of Japanese occupied in agriculture in Taiwan in 1938 (including members of their families) was 8,065.

The colonization schemes for fishermen were not much more successful. In 1909 the government-general began its campaign, promising subsidies and other advantages. But those who answered the call preferred some occupation in Taiwan other than that of fishermen. In 1926 in Taihoku province 49 families (172 persons) were settled and most of them continue to work there. Since 1932, the government has again made efforts to attract fishermen to Taito province, and, up to 1937, 54 families had settled there. The plan for 1938 and 1939 foresaw the settlement of 25 families for each year. Such are the very modest results of the continuous efforts of the Japanese government.

Takahashi is of the opinion (1) (and his opinion reflects the ideas prevailing among

1. See his Gendai Taiwan Keizairon, pp. 8-9.

Japanese economists) that there is little room for the Japanese in Taiwan as long as the island remains an agricultural region; hence his belief that Taiwan should be industrialized."

"A few words should be devoted to the Chinese emigration from the island. In 1936 the number of the Chinese from Taiwan (i.e. Chinese born on Taiwan, subjects of Japan) living abroad was as follows:

Living in:			
Manchuria	303	British Malaya	187
China	13,492	Dutch East Indies	458
Hongkong, Macao	179	Other countries	138
Siam	92	Total	14,849

This number—about one-fourth of one per cent of the total population—is, of course, small. Taiwan itself was in the not distant past a colony to which emigrants from China flocked and, if it were not for restrictions introduced by the Japanese authorities, this movement would continue. The comparatively large number of Chinese from Taiwan residing in China is easily explained. Being Japanese subjects they enjoy extra-[32] territorial rights in China. This presents certain advantages and is in many cases very profitable. (1) In 1930 there were about 1,500 Chinese from Taiwan resident in Japan, mostly

1. The small number of Taiwanese residing abroad is explained chiefly by the fact that the government-general does not approve of natives going abroad; it fears possible political movements which the emigrants may start. All Taiwanese residing

116, 167

in China are under the strict supervision of the government-general.

students and rich persons but very few workers."

4:Grajdanzev--87-88 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 167, 313, 423, 659, 177.31 Japan
636.31

When the Japanese occupied the island, the new administration immediately became interested in its forest resources. One part of forests was in the possession of the Chinese farmers, but the other, more important one was the area of the aborigines. The Chinese were required to register the documents of ownership of forest lands, and since in most cases they had no such documents—their possession and use of forests being based on [88] custom—this device enlarged the government forest reserves (1). It has

1. This is described in Section 3, Ch. 11, p. 1 of T. Yanaihara, Teikoku Shugishita no Taiwan, pp. 23-26.

already been mentioned that in order to use the forests, formerly occupied by the aborigines, the government began to settle the latter by force in the plains. It is said that the settlement of one family of aborigines on the plains cost only ¥70, and this may be compared with the ¥1,000 or more which are spent on the settlement of a Japanese family. Many hundred thousands of ko of forest were acquired in this way."

4:Grajdanzev--125 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 167, 171, 205, 563

"It is also noteworthy that the Japanese in Taiwan send on the average many more letters, parcels, telegrams and have better telephone facilities than the Japanese in Japan proper. This is an indirect proof that they are much better off than the average Japanese at home, a fact to be kept in mind when one is considering the causes for the failure of mass Japanese emigration to the island. The Japanese come to the island in order to secure a better living in Taiwan than they had at home, and not to compete with the low-paid Chinese."

4:Grajdanzev--155-156 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 167, 457, 484, 563, 871, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"One must, however, consider the invisible items in the balance of payments. The Chinese of the island rarely emigrate from Taiwan; as we have [156] already seen, the number of islanders living abroad is negligible. There are about 1,300-1,500 Taiwanese students in Japan proper, but their support by their parents and relatives can hardly cost more than one million yen a year——a small quantity in comparison with the figures involved. The islanders do not travel abroad, they have no investments abroad from which they draw income and there are only a few foreigners on the island, so that the general picture of an island having economic connections exclusively with Japan remains undisturbed."

7: Joest--55 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosans
116, 167, 634

Every year several thousand Chinese migrate from the overpopulated mainland to the Chinese section of Formosa, much of which is still virgin soil. The district of Tai-wan is controlled by a Tau-tai in Taiwanfu; he has several privileges which date from the period of Coxinga's Privileges.

15: U.S. Navy--21 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 563

"Two to three hundred Japanese live in each of the scattered small towns having district offices. A few, who are classed as farmers, live on the sugar plantations. A few cultivate rice as ordinary country people. They have emigrated under Government sponsorship and settled at designated places. Three East Coast villages, Yoshino, Toyoda, and Hoshina, have a total population of 3,136 Japanese. Near Taito (on the east coast) 473 individuals (79 households) have been settled. Fifty-six households (256 individuals) have been settled at Shasen-sho in Taichu Province. Twenty-five households (111 individuals) have been settled as tobacco-growers at Hinode-mura on reclaimed land along the Shimo-Tamsui River, near Heito."

15: U.S. Navy --21 [5]
116, 157, 167, 625, 177.18
636.18

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The Japanese are exceptionally thorough and successful organizers, and have brought under their own control the economic life of the island. The police force and many of the urban commercial people came originally from Southern Kyushu and Shikoku, and speak the local dialects of those regions. The Japanese of the metropolitan areas in the homeland speak frankly of the hardness and unattractiveness of the colonial Japanese character in Taiwan."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 175

"The Formosan-Chinese migrated to the island principally from the following places on the China coast:

(1) An-ch'i (Anki)
(2) Chia-ying (Chiaying, Kaying, Mei Hsien)
(3) Chang-chou (Changchow, Lungki)
(4) Ch'ao-chou (Chaochow, Chaoan)
(5) Hui-chou (Huichow, Waichow, Waiyueng)
(6) Hweian
(7) Nanan
(8) Sam Yup (San I)
(9) Tsingkiang
(10) Tungan"

15: U.S. Navy--23 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 221, 443, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The Japanese put an end to unregistered immigration and emigration when they took over the island in 1895.

All Chinese wishing to immigrate were required to register with a Japanese consular agent in China, and to register in Taiwan after arrival. Actually, a considerable clandestine unregistered traffic continued by small boats plying the Straits.

Until 1937 there was a seasonal movement of labor. Workers crossed from the mainland to work through the tea, sugar or pineapple seasons. After they had made enough to live on for some months, they returned to their legal homes on the China coast. A considerable number of merchants and day laborers engaged in urban enterprises were accustomed to pass back and forth between Canton and Taiwan, entering principally through Takao. As of July, 1935, there were on the island 11,327 households of Chinese holding Chinese citizenship, totaling 41,651 persons. Since 1937 (the outbreak of the China War) seasonal migration has been suspended."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [9] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167

"There was a great rush of Japanese to the island when it was first taken over. After 1900 the number of immigrants dropped and the number of departures for the homeland reduced the total increase to a low figure. According to the most recent evidence, the increase of the Japanese population through immigration is not greater than 3,000 per year."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [10] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 511, 609 Japanese
636.16

"Immigration of Japanese agricultural workers has been encouraged both by the Government, directly, and by the development companies in which the Government has large interests. Attempts have been made to establish agricultural villages here and there, in the hope that such settlements would help advance the assimilation and control program. These settlements have been a failure. Thirty-eight were projected, eight were actually established, and all had failed by 1910. The native Formosan-Chinese populace was too hostile and the competition in living standards too great for the Japanese immigrants to bear. A second colonization plan, begun in 1910, succeeded in establishing three villages with a total of 3,368 persons settled. These have not flourished, though they continue to exist. They now have fewer settlers than in 1910.

The Government has made several attempts to attract and establish Japanese fishermen, but with practically no success, despite the government subsidies granted to them."

15: U.S. Navy --23-24 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 441, 464, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The majority of Japanese immigrants go to the island for [24] administrative work or business management. Japanese officialdom some years ago arrived at the reasonable conclusion that since the increase in the Formosan population was proportionately so much greater than the increase of the Japanese, only a program of industrialization (with accompanying influx of Japanese technical labor) would serve to strengthen substantially the Japanese population of the island. Presumably, large numbers of Japanese have immigrated to manage the new technical establishments known to have been established on a fairly large scale in and around Takao, near Shinchiku, and elsewhere since 1941."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 464, 177.46 Japanese
636.46

"Labor problems are dealt with by the several offices of the Government-General. There is no 'Labor Bureau' as such.

Before the China 'Incident' there were few restrictions upon the employment of an alien within Taiwan provided the alien had entered the country legally, held a visa from a Japanese consul and was duly registered in Taiwan. All Chinese laborers entering were required to be licensed for labor by the immigration authorities. The government itself has attempted to employ local labor or semi-skilled and skilled labor from Japan. After August, 1937, steps were taken to end the immigration of Chinese, and in 1938 it was announced that all Chinese nationals who thereafter left Taiwan for any point outside of the Empire of Japan would automatically be barred from re-entry."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [7]
116, 464, 167, 177.16
636.16

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The industrial program which has been developing since 1930 has received special stimulus since the China war broke out. Initially it had been retarded by an acute shortage of skilled or semi-skilled labor. To remedy this, a program for encouraging the migration of skilled and semi-skilled Japanese workmen from Japan to the island was inaugurated in 1937 by the Taiwan Government. The mining industry suffered most severely, as indicated by the fact that the percentage of increase in labor employed in the mines is greater than the percentage of increase in production."

162 Emigrants from Chuanchow came earliest, occupied the best places of the western plain, and engaged in commerce, trade and agriculture. The Hakkas came last. When they came, the most fertile soil of the plain was already claimed, so they had to settle in hilly places or mountain foothills. They mostly engaged in agriculture. People from Changchow came between these two in point of time, and also settled between the two in actual geographic regions. They engaged in commerce and agriculture. Hakka and Fukienese have different dialects; and even among the Fukienese, those from the prefecture of Chuanchow and those from the prefecture of Changchow speak with a different accent. The three groups have different patron gods, different associations, and have fought against each other in sanguinary wars. In daily contact, the same native town means higher affinity, higher consciousness of kind. Marriage takes place more frequently among people from the same original native town.

4. The Clan Village.

•167 The Chinese seldom leave their ancestral shrines and graves behind them when they go abroad. Pressed by hard living conditions, one male member of the family may leave home for overseas, but the whole family seldom moves to a new place. Many came to Formosa only for a longer or shorter time, and having accumulated sufficient money, went back to their ancestral towns. Even if they settled permanently in the new land, they still kept an intimate contact with their kinsfolk in the old home town. This relationship was broken by the

167 Japanese colonial government, which wanted the Taiwanese to sever their ties with their fatherland.

167 618 The early Chinese settlers came mostly to Formosa with their kinsfolk or town's people. On arriving on the island, the family group settled in a new place, and frequently used its clan name (surname) as the name of the village. This is the clan village. At first the clan village may have had only kinsfolk with the same surname as its members. Later on families related by marriage might join the village. As the people with the same surname consider themselves as belonging to the same clan, and intermarriage within the clan was barred by custom, all in-laws necessarily had a different surname. In-laws were the first heterogeneous element in the homogeneous clan village, but their number was very small. More in-laws might come to live, craftsmen or itinerant merchants might come and stay for a longer or shorter time. As time passed, the proportion of heterogeneous elements increased, but the original clan was still dominant in numbers, and constituted the so-called influential surname of the village. For instance, there was a Lim-tso-liao (means the hamlet of the Lins) near Peikang, Tainan. A survey done in 1930 showed that there were 327 households, consisting of 18 different surnames. Of these households 76.6 per cent were the kinsfolk of the influential clan of the Lins, and the other 17 surnames made up only 23.4 per cent of the total households.[1]

1. Yoshio Tomita, "A Study on the Settlement in Taiwan," Symposium of the Culture of Taiwan, Vol. I, 1943, Taipei, p. 179.

167 618 Professor Y. Tomita found that even though there were many villages which did not have the clan name as their place name, nevertheless each still retained one influential clan.[2] It is evident that settlement with kinsfolk was fairly common in early times.

5. Villages Formed by the People of the Same Native Town.

167 A survey made by the Japanese administration in 1926 revealed that a great number of villages in Formosa were formed by Chinese immigrants from the same native town on the Mainland. This type of settlement was more general than the clan village.

Both the clan village and the village consisting of the people of the same native town were highly homogeneous. As time passed, heterogeneous elements gradually increased. If the village was located in some place convenient for commerce and transportation, the heterogeneous elements rapidly grew. In the meantime, in response to the current social situation, the village community became the basic unit of social life, whether it derived from a clan village or from a village consisting of the people of the same native town.

6. The Function of the Village.

621 In pre-modern China, governmental administrative activity practically ended at the prefecture level. Most local affairs were left to the local community in the village and town, except

2. Ibid., pp. 176-188. Tomita's study was based on census report of 1930.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD 1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

162 In Formosa, there are 105 males to every 100 females.[9] In 1940 when the population was more permanently settled, the ratio[10] was 102 to 100 females. The many male immigrants who came in after the war probably account for the present sex ratio.

C. Urban and Rural Population

369 167 Urbanization has increased rapidly in the past few decades. In 1920, four per cent of the population lived in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants; in 1952, the number in such cities had increased to 21 per cent. Economic development in the last years of Japanese control and in the current postwar years, and the influx of Mainland people in the late 1940's and early 1950's, have contributed to growth in urban population. The preponderance of agricultural population has become less pronounced, and the high degree of ethnic and cultural homogeneity has been diminishing.

The majority of young people come to the cities with the hope of finding jobs; immigrants from the Mainland are mostly non-farmers and therefore flock to the cities; and most wives follow their husbands to the cities.

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9. China News Press, Chung-hua Nien-pao, 1954 [China Annual, 1954], Vol. III, Taipei, 1954, p. 78.

10. Provincial Government of Taiwan, Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, 1940, Taipei, 1953, p. 40.

V. MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS

167 From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century immigrants from the Chinese coast increased the population in Formosa. However, due to prohibitive measurs against immigration taken by the Japanese, the major increase after 1895 was caused by excess of births over deaths. In the post-war years, particularly when the Nationalist Government abandoned the China Mainland, a vast number of civilians and troops came to Formosa, swelling the population by about 20 per cent. It was estimated that in 1952 there were about 9,700,000 people on the island; of this number one-fifth were Mainlanders.[13]

166 Internal migration is largely limited to rural people moving to urban areas. Because of familial and local ties farmers rarely move unless they plan to change their occupation. Moreover, because of the lack of frontier lands, farmers do not gain by moving to other areas unless they change their livelihood. To the farmers, migration means departure from rural life and activities. As a result, most people tend to stay in or near the locality in which they were born. About 60 per cent of the 857 heads of households surveyed by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction were born in the village in which they now live, 17 per cent were born in other villages in the same township (chen), and 10 per cent were born in other townships in the same

13. Arthur F. Raper, Rural Taiwan--Problem and Promise, Taipei, JCRR, 1953, p.290, Appendix B contributed by Profs. Ruey Yih-fu and Chen Shao-hsin of National Taiwan University.

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 ADI Formosa ADI

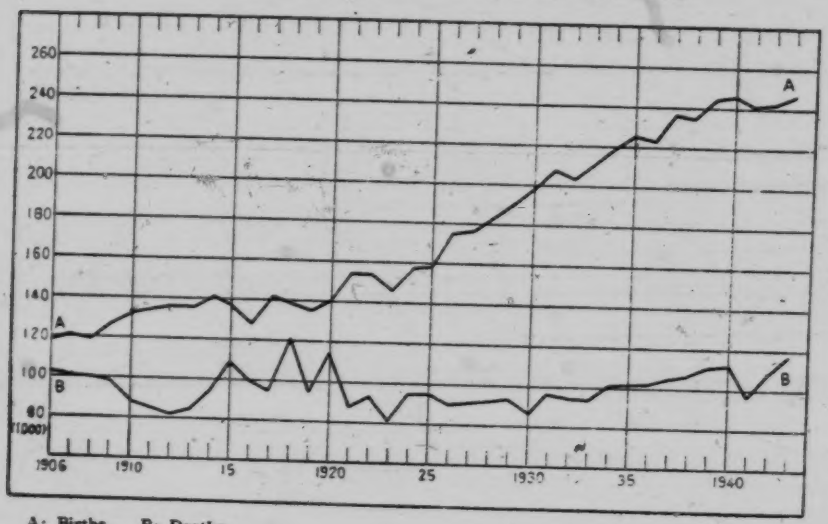
century and a half, and will attain the figure of present world population within two and a half centuries (1: p. 13; 2: p. 45; 4: p. 73–74). As a matter of course these suppositions assume that the present conditions will continue, and that a change of conditions will cause population growth to show another aspect. With regard to the estimation of future population, Sun-Ken Quo has a different point of view based on a different perspective (3).

5. The Cause of Population Growth.

Natural increase and immigration are two causes of population growth. Since the colonial government strictly controlled the emigration of Taiwanese to the mainland and the immigration of mainlanders to Taiwan, migration was quite insignificant for the population growth of Taiwanese, and 96% of its total growth was the result of natural increase[4].

Now, how was this natural increase achieved? From Figure 1 we can see that between 1906 and 1943 the annual number of deaths of Taiwanese did not show any remarkable change, it remained around one hundred thousand. In contrast with this,

Fig. 1: Number of Births and Deaths of Taiwanese, 1906–1943



A: Births B: Deaths

Source, 14: Table 96

Note 4: The total of the annual increase of Taiwanese population between 1906 and 1943 was 3,078,406 (14: Table 49, 3). (The Taiwanese population in 1905 was 3,055,461, the increase between 1906 and 1943 was 3,078,406, and the grand total of these two figures, 6,133,867 was the Taiwanese population in 1943. 14: Table 49, 2. cf. Table 1, A, column 11 of this paper). Total of the annual natural increase of the Taiwanese between 1906 and 1943 was 2,947,998 (14: Table 96) was 95.76% of the total increase. Total annual increase other than natural increase of the same period was 130,408, and occupied only 4.24% of the total increase.

52;Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

By these actions the Japanese set apart from all others those who were descended from the original residents of Taiwan. This segregation in the statistics extended from the most obvious differentiation—that of Japanese nationals—down to fine distinctions within the Taiwanese population itself.[7] It was consistent in both the population censuses and vital statistics, making it possible to amalgamate the two systems of record-keeping continuously as long as they were maintained.

TABLE 1

TAIWANESE BORN OUTSIDE OF TAIWAN, 1920 AND 1930

Proportion of All Persons Who Have Been Born "Abroad," by Age and Sex

	Census of 1920		*Census of 1930*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
All ages	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
0-9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-19	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
20-29	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
30-39	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
40-49	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1
50-59	1.3	0.2	0.3	0.1
60-69	1.9	0.3	0.8	0.1
70 and above	2.6	0.7	1.0	0.3

Sources: *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix*, Table 79.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 55.

Regulating the conduct of "alien" Chinese nationals in Taiwan was not the sole purpose in establishing the legal status of residents. The authorities also set out to halt the further migration of people from the mainland. In this they were apparently successful. Taiwanese were required to verify their nationality by certain proofs, chief of which was evidence of having been born in Taiwan. Taking this as a criterion, there seems to have been little admixture from the mainland to the category of "Taiwanese." For example, tables showing Taiwanese who were born "abroad" were published with the censuses of 1920 and 1930. If the information was accurate, practically the entire population of Taiwanese born after 1895 was ac-

[7] This fine detail was confined to a slightly different classification, based on "race." It provided categories within the group with Taiwanese nationality—aborigines, Taiwanese of Fukien origin, and Taiwanese of Kwangtung origin. The two classifications were not precisely the same, the one based on "nationality" being the more consistent at different times.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

659 tually born in Taiwan (see Table 1). Almost none under 25 years
• 167 of age in 1920, or under 35 in 1930, were recorded as having been
born outside. Some who were older at these two dates had been
162 born in China, but they were very few and were probably living in Taiwan at the time of annexation. These figures imply that migration after 1895 was probably confined to people who were appropriately registered by nationality, and counted as *aliens* in census enumerations.[8]

Hence the census category of "Taiwanese" was defined so as to exclude migrants to and from the island. This is significant to know, for it means that Taiwanese counted in any census after 1905 were exactly the survivors of those who had been counted before (plus those who had been born in the meantime). It also means that the population of Taiwanese was for statistical purposes a "closed" population—one which neither gained nor lost people by migration. All change in the size of the Taiwanese population was therefore due to "natural increase," or the balance between births and deaths. One can thus speak precisely of population "growth" in Taiwan, without reference to migration as a complicating factor.

Half a Century of Rapid Growth

161 The total population, and the sub-total of Taiwanese, are shown in Table 2 as counted on October 1 of each census year, along with the annual geometric rates of growth that are implied at each intercensal stage. Every year showed an increase. The only setbacks were between 1915 and 1920, when the island suffered three near-epidemic attacks of disease. Even over this relatively poor span the average yearly rate of increase was close to one per cent. The original population of 1895 was more than doubled by 1945; when the vital statistics were discontinued in 1943, there were nearly six million Taiwanese.

[8] By evasion of the law some Chinese might conceivably have slipped into Taiwan and passed themselves off as Taiwanese. A further acquaintance with the regulatory system in later chapters, however, will make this appear most unlikely.

There is evidence of another sort that the Taiwanese were not diminished by removals to the mainland. Briefly, detailed testing of the validity of birth and death statistics has shown that practically all persons born in Taiwan were later accounted for in a census enumeration, or as registered deaths if they failed to survive. Practically all who were enumerated in one census were similarly accounted for at later dates. During the 1930's, Japanese permitted small numbers of Taiwanese to leave the island for special purposes. The effect of these departures was very small, and raises no difficulty in dealing with the data of earlier years. Thus, if there was emigration, it too was clandestine and very small.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

this small and obscure minority have been subjects for an immense amount of anthropological investigation during Japanese rule in Taiwan, while the peoples of Chinese origin (for whom accurate and precise information has been available these many years) have been almost entirely neglected. The increase of aborigines in census enumerations probably signifies nothing in the way of growth; it was not until the 1930's that they were brought fully within the scope of the census.

TABLE 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF TAIWAN

Censuses of 1905 and 1935

	1905			1935		
	Persons	*Per Cent of Total*	*Males per 100 Females*	*Persons*	*Per Cent of Total*	*Males per 100 Females*
Japanese	57,335	1.9	152	270,674	5.2	116
Korean*				1,479	0.0	60
Taiwanese						
Fukien Origin	2,492,784	82.0	112	3,939,966	75.6	103
Kwangtung Origin	397,195	13.1	108	735,334	14.1	103
Other Chinese Origin	506	0.0	218	265	0.0	109
Aborigines	82,795	2.7	96	207,900	4.0	101
"Others"	9,136	0.3	1,757	56,808	1.1	217

* Koreans included with "Others" in 1905.

Source: *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Introduction, p. 32.

The numerical position of the Japanese community in Taiwan gives no clue to its strong influence in the course of events after 1895. Its growth was not of the same sort as that of Taiwanese. Few if any Japanese regularly lived in the island in 1895.[10] By 1905 a settlement of 57,335 was recorded for the census, increasing to 270,584 in 1935 and 312,386 in 1940, or five times its earlier size.[11] Japanese in Taiwan did not add to their numbers through natural increase alone, especially since their community was a highly masculine one (see Table 3).[12] As a matter of fact, their registered natural increase from

[10] One foreign writer at the time went so far as to assert that prior to 1895 "there was not in the whole island a single Japanese resident." See Davidson, James W. (1903), p. 592.

[11] The military garrison was supposed to be excluded from all of these enumerations.

[12] Marriages with Taiwanese were prohibited until 1932. Offspring of such illicit mixed unions were rarely if ever counted later as Japanese, making the shortage of women a serious restriction on the per capita reproduction of Japanese.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

1906 to 1940 amounted to only 146,597, and if accurate could account for only 57 per cent of the total gain. The numbers of Japanese in Taiwan therefore increased very largely by migration. As we shall see, this was a special type of migration, based on opportunities that did not prevail for others in Taiwan or for Japanese at home, and brought special kinds of migrants. By recruiting new members relatively faster than the natural increase of the Taiwanese, they also raised their proportion in the total population (see Table 3).

The only other non-Taiwanese group, excluding an insignificant number of Koreans, were the Chinese from the mainland. They are shown in Table 3 as "Aliens," mixed with a few other foreign nationalities. Numerically they were even smaller than the Japanese. Being the ones most likely to blur the ethnic boundaries, Chinese nationals were classified and marked out with great care from the rest of the population, as we have indicated. In census enumerations they would have been indistinguishable from Taiwanese, but for the necessity the Japanese felt to control their activities and forestall the development of close ties between Taiwanese and the mainland.[18]

The Taiwanese, however, were the group of major consequence for demographic study. Up to 1945 they comprised practically the whole of the population taken at large. The proportion of non-Taiwanese never reached 7 per cent. Distributed in the total, all these others were minor elements; only when special considerations are introduced do they become important. In the following pages, attention is given to the Taiwanese population almost exclusively, for their development under Japanese rule, which produced this natural increase, is the main problem to be investigated.

[18] [Taiwan.] Government of Formosa. *The Special Population Census of Formosa, 1905.* [English translation] p. 161.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

CHAPTER III

Economic Activities and Social Change

THE activities, interests, and aspirations of the Japanese community in Taiwan were things that existed apart from the indigenous population. These elements were never effectively communicated to the Taiwanese—partly through a design to withhold them, and partly through reluctance among the people of Taiwan to accept them. Consequently the conduct of Japanese residents is not of much help in understanding the accustomed modes of life among the island's people. It is the latter problem that has the more interest for demography, and makes it essential to consider the background of social order in Taiwan and the changes under colonial rule.

The Early Agrarian Order in Taiwan

The importance of agricultural pursuits in imposing a predominantly agrarian character on a society is not a thing that can be precisely measured. Short of perfect exactitude, a great deal can be learned with lesser devices, by describing the cultural setting of agriculture in Taiwan, and pointing out how it influenced the participation by Taiwanese in the island's economy. The basis of this setting lay in the conditions that prevailed before Taiwan became a colony of Japan.

By the mid-19th century, the lowland region of Taiwan was rapidly becoming fully settled. Piracy, which had made Taiwan a scourge to sea traffic along the China coast, gradually subsided into sedentary agriculture. Most of the Chinese population was already supporting itself by farming and the marketing of farm products. Since 1700 immigration had brought in a steady stream of Chinese from the mainland. In spite of sporadic prohibitions, hundreds of thousands of peasant farmers came to seek refuge from rural poverty in South China. Once arrived, they often reverted to this same condition, by reaching unfavorable terms with some of their countrymen already entrenched there as land speculators.

Poverty tended to reproduce itself among those who reached Taiwan, though there was also great wealth open to the few who rose from cultivation to commerce. Each settled family held an advantage over newcomers. This superior position placed new migrants in

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

some competition for the more desirable lands near the coast. In order to maintain their accustomed manner of farming, many were forced to move inland, where they gradually dispossessed aborigines and the earlier Hakka settlers and pushed eventually to the foothills of the interior. These many-sided conflicts of interest gave rise to land tenures more complicated than those usually found in China. The result was a set of property customs that was to become confused and encumbering in later years.[1]

With agrarian land tenures, however, it is all too easy to mistake form for substance. The system of land tenures in Taiwan gained several features that are distinctive to itself, arising to incorporate new parties into an old system—the aborigines who first occupied the area, and Chinese who acquired land titles to profit from the arrival of immigrants. But, since these landed property relationships are of little interest to us from an antiquarian point of view, their lasting effects are more important: they contributed to a form of village organization that survived through the entire Japanese occupation down to the present.

The flow of migrants is remarkable in that it populated Taiwan, with little variation over the years, closely after the model of the South China coastal area.[2] The resemblance to the mainland went beyond forms of settlement and land utilization. Politically, under Manchu control the island was supposed to be assimilated into the administration of the rest of China. It was governed as a regular political division—first as a prefecture of Fukien and later as a province itself—by officials appointed directly from Peking.

Taiwan inevitably presented special problems of control. In the first place, it could be separated from easy communication with the continent; eventually it grew almost as accessible to the Western powers as to Peking. The device most relied upon to tie the area to China was a weak one. The authorities tried, futilely, to isolate it from all external contact. From time to time, they went as far as to restrict the entry of Chinese from across the Straits, though even this had little success.

[1] See Ch'en Cheng-hsiang (1950), pp. 41-43, and Kawada, Shiro (1928).

[2] The instances of alleged "radical transformation" of land tenures (Kawada, Shiro [December 1928], p. 88) were primarily fiscal measures to reassert the central government's share in revenues from the land. Such reforms often are superficial from the standpoint of village organization. By way of illustration, one of the early official acts of the Japanese in Taiwan was to sweep away a whole section of these archaic land titles. While these reforms cleared the way to regulate rural areas from outside, they scarcely made an impression on property relations within the villages.

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CHAPTER V

Migration and the Growth of Cities

177 DEPENDING on the way one looks at it, the history of colonial rule in Taiwan can give the appearance either of having brought great transformations to the island or of having left the indigenous social structure virtually intact. This apparent contrast comes from shifting attention between the two principal groups of people that were involved—from the Japanese, who had little to do with the archaic customs and usages of the population, to the Taiwanese, who had only small acquaintance with the modern changes that were being introduced. Here we shall be concerned with those of the latter who came into contact with the new elements.

Though the full force of these developments passed them by as a group, the Taiwanese were not all uninfluenced. The organization of farming, to be sure, continued as before with little modification. The activities most affected were those outside of agriculture. Hence the people must have moved to the new conditions, since the innovations did not move to them.

The Territorial Frame of Migration

659 Taiwan is a small island, and recording the migration of its people should not be a task of great magnitude or difficulty. Japanese regarded such a record as essential in keeping a close watch over the population. It was so important that they inaugurated continuous population registers for every village, every group of households. These reports were compiled in fine detail by the authorities and published in a single volume each year.[1] A certain amount of adaptation is needed to make these registers answer questions that are germane to our interests.

167 Japanese conquest began to provide not only the first reliable data for assessing movement in the population, but also a new type of control over it. It put an end to the historic influx of people from China that had been responsible for populating most of the island.

[1] The data proved to be more efficient for their purpose than for ours. The system faithfully counted the arrival of new persons in a community (the most important information from the standpoint of regulation) but did not expunge the records of all persons who left. The result was a more or less consistent bias toward *over*-estimating the number of people living in a given locality, and of course a somewhat distorted view of total migration.

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On a much smaller scale, Japanese replaced Chinese as immigrants. Chinese arriving from the mainland were given a distinct legal status as aliens. Their activities were restricted, and they were no longer allowed to merge with permanent Taiwanese residents. Practically all movement by Taiwanese thenceforth consisted of internal migration, redistributing the population that was already there.

Only a part of the island is level enough to have encouraged heavy agricultural settlement; almost half of the total area is more than 500 meters above sea level. For administration, and therefore for the census, Taiwan was separated from 1920 on into seven main divisions. Two of them, plus an eighth for P'enghu (the Pescadores Islands) off the West coast, were technically under a different sort of political organization; but for convenience we shall refer to all eight as *Prefectures*.[2] Most types of census and registration statistics were tabulated for each of these political units as well as for the total island.

Beneath the level of Prefectures, local administration was organized around a set of Districts and a smaller number of Municipalities. In the population statistics, these formed two parallel units: no District contained a Municipality, and both were subordinate to Prefectures.[3] There were seven Municipalities at the census date in 1930, raised to nine before 1935, and 53 Districts in both years; in comparisons of different years, all will be standardized to the arrangement in 1935. Inside each District were towns and villages. Few materials are available for these individually; for most purposes the smallest divisions that can be studied are the Districts.[4]

Finally, the mountainous interior region—the Aborigine Terri-

[2] If not literally accurate, the term is appropriate in that authority below the Government-General was highly centralized in the subordinate governors of these divisions. How they are designated here is a matter of no consequence, as it made little difference in the actual administration. P'enghu, scarcely known to Westerners except as the Pescadores Islands, was in 1926 made a separate division under the Government-General. Prior to this it had shifted between separate status and a subdivision of Kaohsiung Prefecture. Hence there is no unbroken series of data for it.

[3] Again, the details of political organization were not uniform, but that need not concern us here. Both terms are arbitrary: "District" for the term *chün* (in its Chinese reading), and "Municipality" for *shih*. It was the practice to form new municipalities by removing some important town of sufficient size as a unit from its surrounding District, sometimes adding some former villages, also intact. This practice gives a basis for identifying the population of cities for comparison over a period when such administrative changes were taking place.

[4] The area of towns and villages exhausted the entire area of Districts, leaving no space between their boundaries. Therefore they do not always refer to meaningful units of settlement, and the terms are not consistent.

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Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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121 167 177 178 eastern part of the mainland to Taiwan had been going on for several hundred years, beginning in the 1600's and virtually ending about 1900 when it was almost completely stopped by the Japanese regime. Throughout the early period and even after the Japanese occupation and administration of the island, the traditional Chinese culture brought over from southeastern China was maintained with little major change.

648 177 178 During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, except for the period just before and during World War II when they attempted to Japanize the island, the government tried deliberately to inhibit fundamental changes in the Chinese culture.[1] As George Barclay (1954b:52) has pointed out, during most of their occupation it was advantageous to Japanese colonialism to maintain the Chinese social and economic order which already existed in Taiwan. It was by means of the traditional Chinese system, which facilitated the maintenance of social control, that Japan was best able to function as a colonial power and to derive the greatest advantage from this area, which soon became an integral economic part of the Japanese empire. Because of this policy of maintaining and utilizing the existing Chinese social and economic system, the fifty years of Japanese rule had limited direct effect on much of the traditional social life of the Taiwanese. This was especially true of the rural agricultural areas of Taiwan, where direct contact with the Japanese was infrequent and where the Japanese had, therefore, limited influence on the cultural level of life. Some superficial changes—religious forms, for example—were in later years forced on the Taiwanese rural people by the Japanese, but they were quickly dropped when Chinese rule was restored at the end of World War II. Today, unlike the situation in the urban centers of Taiwan where Japanese cultural influence was much stronger and is still evident, only few Japanese-introduced traits can be observed in rural Taiwan, and the people attach little importance to them.

However, during the later years of the Japanese period and especially during most of these past two decades under the Nationalist Chinese, the socioeconomic impact on the whole Taiwanese population has been significant. The combination of relatively efficient government, orderliness of life, and public health measures, together with an extensive system of communications on a relatively small island has greatly facilitated rapid population increase on a stable land base and a rapidly increasing growth of urban centers.

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Out of these developments, the most significant changes for the rural population have been the extension of village contacts and involvement with urban centers far beyond the immediate village area, and with this an increased spread of urban influences or at least their effects into the rural villages. These increasingly significant extensions

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have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

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In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[3] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

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With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

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NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] During the last six or seven years of their regime, the Japanese government attempted to strengthen support of the war effort amongst the Taiwanese population. To do this, they expanded the compulsory school system and put in force many new regulations, i.e., only the Japanese language was used in the schools, Shinto religious symbols such as the Shinto God's shelf (*kamidana*) and Japanese patriotic scrolls replaced the traditional Taoist gods' statues and scrolls, Japanese festivals were observed, and many Taiwanese had to take Japanese names. However, immediately after war's end, the Taiwanese reverted to their traditional Taiwanese (Chinese) customs.

Chapter 2: The Setting

[1] The amount and distribution of rainfall in the Hsin Hsing area is: January .79–1.97 inches, April 3.93–5.90 inches, July 7.86–11.80 inches, October .79 inches. The average annual rainfall in the Chang-hua Hsien area is 39.37–59.05 inches.

[2] A great many of the overseas Chinese living in the Southeast Asian countries also came from the Ch'uan Chou and Chang Chou areas near Amoy.

[3] The historical information gathered from older residents of the area was based mainly on their own experiences as children and on stories told to them by their elders.

Some of the numerous gazetteers available are listed in the section of the bibliography on Chinese and Japanese Language Sources. Chen Shao-hsing, Professor of Sociology and Demography at National Taiwan University, first warned me in 1957 that some problems exist in using these and other such materials in attempting to gain detailed information about Taiwan generally, or about local areas particularly. Although Chen notes in his recent book (1964:196–197) that some earlier Ch'ing dynasty chroniclers, e.g., Chen Meng-lin, author of *Chu Lo Hsien Chih* (1716), and Chen Wen-ta, compiler of the *Taiwan Hsien Chih* (1720), were reliable, he also points out that some later ones such as Yu Wen-i (1758), Wang Ying-ts'eng (1764), Hsieh Chin-luan (1807), and Chen Shu-chün (1852) were unreliable. Chen (1964:196–197) points out that these latter authors cited what was mentioned in the Chen Wen-ta (1720) book regardless of the actual change in customs through time. Apparently, then, they employed the practice of compiling at least some of their data from previously written gazetteers rather than going out into the countryside to obtain the necessary information. But even the reliable gazetteers usually still presented a composite